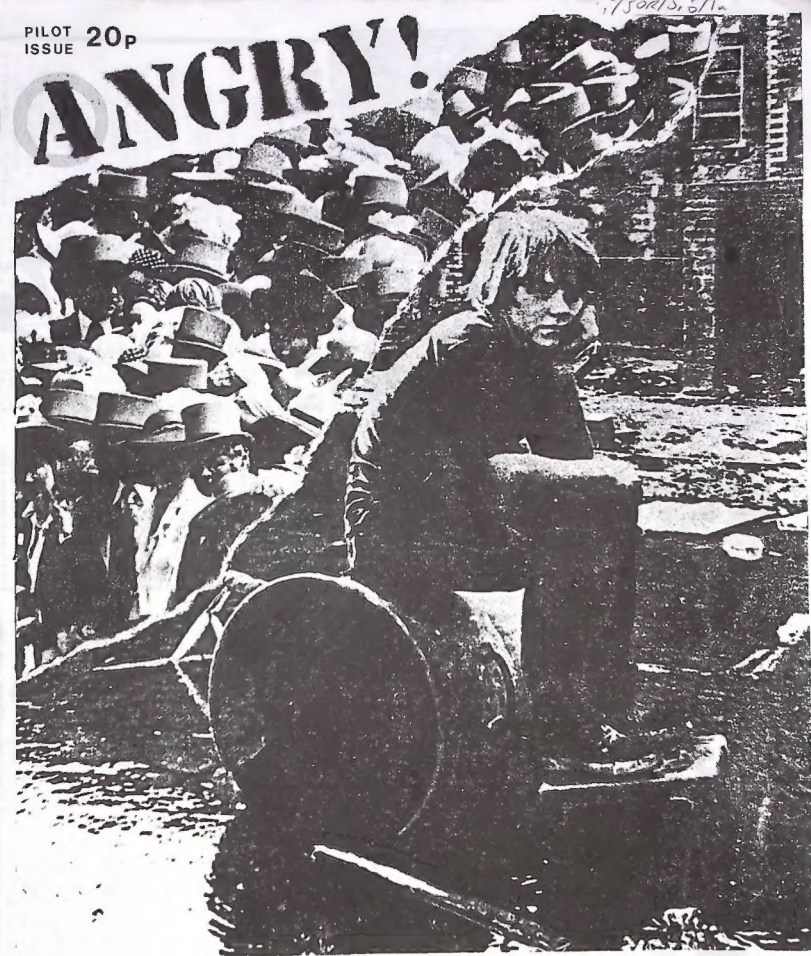
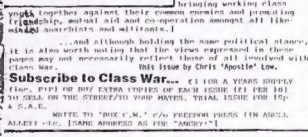
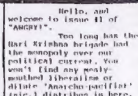


PILOT
ISSUE 20p



HOW DARE YOU FLAUNT YOUR
WEALTH BEFORE THOSE WHOSE
POVERTY YOU PERPETUATE





It is depressingly frequent that we see newspaper photographs of peace demonstrators being brutalised by The Filth, but, as if spiritually elated, putting up no physical resistance. The b morbidly celebrate such images masochistic desire for physical Arm Of The Law. It is indeed lying across the road outside in a useless gesture of defiance.

purpose of the peace movement seems to

"There's a war going on", but this situation is hardly unique to Ireland. WE are at war - CLASS WAR. They claim it's a specific type of war - a National liberation struggle waged by the Republicans against British Imperialism - but, it is just a sectarian form of the same war,

**SMASH FASCISM
SMASH COMMUNISM
SMASH THE STATE!**

the ruled against the rulers.

Besides, many Irish people are not bothered about the religious and nationalist side of the struggle, they simply want the British Army invaders out of their country and peace to follow, surely that's not too much to ask?

Yes, independence and self-determination for Ireland and its' people, but that should only be the first step towards the breakdown of this, and all, centralised nation states.

The most fearful fact is that the institutions and technology used to hold Ireland in subjection.

Here we go! THE MINERS' STRIKE

The repression of the current mining strike is the very worst overt oppression on the British working class so far. Over the next several years, the National Coal Board wants to cut about 10,000 more jobs and close about 70 collieries. Such a scale of closures would condemn thousands of miners and their children to a life on the dole.

The government intends to substitute the UK's coal industry with the importation of coal from Fascist states at cheaper rates, and an expansion in the nuclear fuel industry.

The strike is initially for an end to unnecessary pit closures, except where a pit is unsafe or when coal supplies have genuinely been exhausted, and for an end to 'compulsory redundancies' (sackings).

The sheer ferocity of the strike has been unprecedented in British industrial history, and after almost half a year things are still blazing away. The class violence has escalated way beyond the 'acceptable' level. The Labour Party are resorting to a form of Left Nationalism in a pathetic attempt to curb the healthy development in political anger, and denounce the miners' tactics as 'unacceptable' and 'unintelligent'.

The miners' tactics are an 'unacceptable' and 'unintelligent' part of the British Trade Union movement' but still prattle on about 'Victory' at their rallies. It is the stage where the dispute could be settled and the damage repaired through TUC/NCB bureaucratic negotiations. Orlerton to the pitch battles at Orgreave making plain what we have now is far more than an industrial strike. Such (unwarranted) scenes of class violence have never been witnessed here since the 1920s picketing of the Harrington printworks last year, where youth from the local estates joined the workers in the setting up of barricades, rock throwing, setting petrol alight and fighting the police in a night-long battle. In areas like South Yorkshire whole communities are in an almost permanent state of class war with the bosses and police. School kids have rioted and walked out of their classes in support. Women have actively participated in demonstrations and have made a strong presence on the picketlines, and needless to say, the miners themselves have reacted splendidly, showing gripping Union spirit, showing no signs of backing down and have employed tactics of direct action, sabotage, vandalism, arson, violence and paramilitary hit squads are now making guerrilla attacks on Coal Board property.

The conduct of the police throughout the strike has shown quite clearly their job, as the State's lackey, to protect the wealth and profit of the bosses at all costs, and have made acts of intimidation and brutality towards miners and their families.

SicOs have deliberately sided with the bosses, the government and capitalism, and as such, must be treated with the hostility and contempt they deserve, in an effort to 'persuade' them to disown their black-log labour.

With the strike solidarity of the dockers, steel-workers and other work-forces connected to and reliant on the coal industry the miners would have the power to call a general strike and the might to bring the government to its knees, but not as in the 1974 dispute when the Conservative government challenged the mining trade union, called a general election and was defeated, only to let Labour take over and settle the strike. In reality nothing changed. The ruling class gave the appearance of losing but had really won again all that had changed was the replacement of one form of political domination by another. This time the boss class have thrown down the gauntlet to the miners. The name of the game is no longer a strike - it is nothing short of total war.

The revolutionary strength of the workers does not lie in the Trade Unions, which by their sheer bureaucracy are the organisations of the people they are meant to represent, and by their nature as the cornerstone between labour and capital are reactionary to the nature of class struggle, but in autonomous proletarian solidarity for Anarchism. Syndicalist workers' parties. All unions have a history of selling the workers down the river and there is no reason to believe that the NUM is any different. The miners' like all rank-and-file workers shouldn't be asking for a bigger slice of the cake but seizing the whole bakery!

The best solidarity we can give the miners is to get out on the streets in our own towns and cities. Once the spirit of Haultby and Orgreave teams up with the spirit of Footeth and Brixton 1981 the State will have a fight on its hands it cannot contain and handle. We failed to 'make the summer of '81 seem like a tea-party compared to the summer of '84' - now our job is to make this winter a hot one!

Metrol bomb found after ANARCHY MINERS'aramilitant mass picketing of plant OPEN FIRE on join picket Pit village riot THE POLICE Pit strike 'more violent cops are BATTERED'

BASTARDS IN BLUE

The Pith say they are neutral and claim to take no side in the community. This is a total lie; they are firmly on the side of our oppressors.

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Changes in policing methods over the last decade have created a virtually autonomous and dangerously isolated police force, answerable to no-one but themselves and operating without the support of the working community at large.

There is no such thing as 'Policing by consent' - we have never been asked or consulted if we want these changes in uniform patrolling at our doorstep. They are no longer the solution to social unrest, but are a major part of the problem.

The media portrays the Old Bill as kindly and helpful, but we know the police are not. They are a tool of the ruling class, and as such, must be treated with the hostility and contempt they deserve, in an effort to 'persuade' them to disown their black-log labour.

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THIS IS WHAT WE'VE GOT...
In the past inner city rioters have shown little interest in the struggles of industrial workers and vice-versa, but now the impracticality of solidaristic proletarian fraternity is dawning on both fractions. No longer will the boss class be safe in their knowledge that 'The struggles of the working class and the marginalised won't link up', now there is a distinct possibility that this will happen. The miners' strike is our biggest break yet. The miners have shown the way forward. Make sure YOU do.



STAND UP FOR YOUR RIOTS!

The outbreak of rioting in 1981 was the most significant gesture of political protest in recent times. It symbolised a discontent and dispossessed generation's attempt to seize direct control of their own lives and areas, rejecting all state authority.

Unfortunately, the rebellious (and) was nullified, but we can only learn from our mistakes and guard against it happening again. Culpable for this were the efforts of community leaders and social workers to diffuse peoples' dissatisfaction through a racket of Youth Opportunities and Job Creation have labour schemes.

However, the most intense threat comes from the political left and their efforts to mediate class anger for their own ends. Such inflammatory situations as the Brixton uprising provided Communist groups with the ideal opportunity to recruit party-fodder by claiming to represent the interests of the rioters. In this way the revolutionary potential of the riots was channelled into the same old old mentality and successfully aborted.

To counter the Services a sleep hostility to all bodies trying to adjust to the land, thus with and action... Finally we forms of protest which with... riots, attacks large body of people civil disorder must be done, more importantly, sure that the action effective. Any counter-interference from the do not with severely no hesitation. We can have for the jobs have sell-outs and grasses recent 'New Left' is

It is better to be faced with real enemies like the State than false friends like the Left.

Spectacular anti-riots should be organised to capture headlines, setting an example and sparking off others. Against this background, once a mood of confrontation has been created, it is our job to consolidate and add our political dimension.

No Anarchist group is in any position to incite mass rioting at this moment in time, but it is up to us to work towards the overthrow and destruction of the State, and therefore, to isolate and prepare. The answer lies not in sterile protest, party building or ballot box stuffing but on the streets, fighting, urban rioting and mob violence are the only forms of protest with meaning for us. Propaganda and active participation are

emphatic if we are to build any strong, combative revolutionary movement capable of taking to the streets some insurgent political climate.

The only language politicians understand is that of molotov cocktails and burning barricades.

WHETHER THEY VOTE FOR US OR NOT WE ARE UNCOVERABLE

OPEN UP THE SECOND FRONT

exist to protect us - they are there to keep dissent among our ranks, posing no threat to governmental authority. Their job in our society is to keep everyone in their place; to make sure the poor and homeless stay that way, and those who are discriminated against continue to get victimised and harassed, and all the time, protect the wealth of the rich. It is their priority to stop anyone who makes an effort to change this.

But the heartwarming militancy at minor picket-lines has shown the way for future retaliation to police intimidation. On the offensive. Our violence is the only answer to their oppression.

The riots of '81 showed that they are not invincible. For a whole week the powers-that-be shook in their shoes as town after town exploded in class anger and drove the police off their streets...where we want them to stay.

The police are our enemy. An occupation force on our streets who must be treated and dealt with as such, using whatever tactics are at our disposal.

This country is rapidly becoming a police State, and it is early days yet. We are here NOW, they are here NOW and we are ALIVE in very deep trouble.



THIS ONE

THORNY QUESTION OF CLASS

This article was partly written in response to a newspaper called 'Working Class Times' and a subsequent document 'A critique of the final issue of Class War' by the Splat! Collective.

It is also an attempt to put down my own thoughts on the thorny question of class based on arguments I have had and observations I have made, mainly through my involvement in Haringey Solidarity Group, a mixed group of libertarian socialists and anarchists in north London.

Somewhere in the 'Critique,' the Splat! Collective write "There has not been, nor is there today, a single body of ideas and theories called 'Anarchism'". So it is understandable that groups calling themselves 'Anarchist' rarely, if ever, define what it is". However they write a whole newspaper littered with the terms 'working class' and 'middle class' without ever seeming to see any problems with these terms. Compared to trying to define 'working class' and 'middle class', 'Anarchism' is a tight consistent body of ideas!

TEACHERS

In large parts 'Working Class Times' is unexceptional. It reads like any Leftist paper except for their rather strange notion that the ruling class, or bourgeoisie, does not exist, and that they are "all middle class". This seems to be so they can lump teachers in with the bosses as part of the system. (Which of course they are, though perhaps not as simply as this suggests). Their obsession with unions for example is typical Leftist fare and would probably be a reasonable picture of working class organisation, circa 1979. Unfortunately things have moved on since then, and not always for the better.

It was once said that all sociology was "an argument with the ghost of Marx". These days all arguments about class, especially if you take a Marxist framework as a starting off point tend to be an argument with the "ghosts of sociology". Having looked at a recent sociological book on the subject I realised the problems that I thought were problems were just the tip of the iceberg. Time to put down the book! (1) Suffice it to say that this is a quick bus ride around the subject.

Nevertheless it's worth pointing out that all theories of class are intellectual constructions of reality rather than the reality itself. To a large extent, the model you use produces the picture that the model suggests. Most sociological writing on class and all official statistics are based on bourgeois social models, following on from Weber, aimed at proving the diversity yet fundamental cohesion of society rather than its polarity and splitting into antagonistic classes.

This bourgeois sociology is repeated in a more persuasive form in the media, so that on the few occasions we see discussion of the working class we are presented with a stereotype male, cloth cap

on head, whipper in the yard and pigeons down at the allotment. Not surprisingly this can safely be relegated to the past along with trade union 'dinosaurs' and the penny farthing. We are "all middle class now" in the adman's world and the increasingly undifferentiable programmes in between.

Part of the problem with class is that we use the term in a number of different ways that overlap one with the other. In everyday discussion 'class' commonly means either (a) social origin; (b) customs and habits; (c) status; (d) income; (e) function; (f) class consciousness.



The ruling class - people we've never heard of (In this particular case, Alan Spall and Charles Miller Smith, finance director and chief executive of ICI)

To cut rather a lot of discussion short it is clear that all of these uses create problems with clearcut definitions of class. Just to ask a few questions from my own experience will suffice to show this. Is someone born working class who is now a lawyer middle class? Is an examiner who is now a self-employed painter & decorator petit-bourgeois? Is a train driver who earns more than a teacher middle class? Is a foreman middle class?

A lot of Leftist writing seems to see being working class as if it was a brand people were given in the womb with no power to change. After a lifetime of limited chances you will die in a paupers grave, seems to be the picture. That there are limitations on working class life is obvious, the extent to which people transcend these limitations is also of interest.

The extent to which working people want to escape from their role can explain why Tory policies such as council house sales could be popular, whereas Left support for the bureaucracy of the welfare state has little popular resonance. This desire to transcend limitations should give us optimism.

The large scale refusal of work and the social unrest that went with it in the 1960's and 70's provoked a ruling class response from the imposition of the IMF loan in 1976, under the last Labour

government, onwards. From the defeat of the Tory government by the miners in 1974 the Conservatives planned a series of attacks on unions backed by the creation of mass unemployment as Capital relocated to other countries. This strategy nearly came undone on many occasions - the steelworkers strike of 1980 and the miners strike of 1984-5 being notable examples. Without the aid of the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy this restructuring could never have succeeded.

DECLINE OF THE CLASS?

Today the number of workers in trade unions has fallen dramatically and they tend to be concentrated in what remains of manufacturing and the public sector. Large sectors such as retailing and catering have expanded with a largely part time, largely female and generally union free workforce. Wages in these sectors are considerably lower than in unionised sectors. This has led some observers to talk about 'the decline of the working class'.

(2) To some extent we could talk about a division within the working class between highly paid unionised workers and non-unionised casual workers. Some industries, such as the building trade have

been almost entirely casualised. However there are factors working against this picture, such as the attack by employers on all workers conditions. Even some quite middle class groups of workers, such as teachers, have found themselves under increasing attack.

We have also seen some strikes recently amongst casualised and mainly immigrant workers aimed at unionising and improving conditions as at JJ Fast Foods and Arnoult bakery in north London. Although both these strikes were largely unsuccessful they may be a pointer to future struggles. Neither should we equate trade unions with class struggle - in France, where there are far fewer workers in trade unions, there are also a higher level of class struggle.

LIVES OF THE RICH

The Splat! Collective claim that the ruling class does not exist, and from everyday experience one could be forgiven for thinking so, since we rarely visit their schools, their clubs or their social events. In fact the rich live a life quite apart from the vast majority of the population - this doesn't however mean they don't exist! The Splat! Collective ask rhetorically 'where is the ruling class in the nuclear power industry?' but if you look at this industry, or any other, you can clearly see a set of people who are in control and are able to set their own remuneration either in the form of 'salary' or dividends.

That some parts of industry are supposedly owned by 'the public' should not blind us to their essentially capitalist organisation, generally so that costs to industry can be laid at the door of the tax-payer. Increasingly a small number of transnational companies are dominating world trade. The people who control these companies are not middle class, they are ruling class. As Earth First! have said 'the people who are raping the planet have names and home addresses'.

COMMUNITY CONFEDERATIONS

We are all aware that this is a time of extraordinary opportunity for left-libertarian ideas. The corruption and incompetence of all forms of hierarchical institutions in our society has been clearly demonstrated in recent years even to those who have little or no idea about the constructive alternatives to the authority principle.

In particular the change of government in Britain has dramatically highlighted in the space of only a few months that politicians simply have no meaningful answers to the problems we all face. Indeed, it is central to the rhetoric of modern politicians that we are all prisoners of the market, of conditions beyond our control or of paralysing pragmatism.

The challenge to Anarchists is now, more than ever, to contribute something positive to what remains of civil society. Angry condemnation of capitalism and hatred of the state are very cheap indeed; the culture of protest is debased.

IN THE PIT

It is not merely that protests are monotonously defeated, they are defeatist. In order to create the new society we must present positive alternatives to people who have no desire to join us in the pit of despair!

The conditions are right for a different kind of movement built on foundations of confidence, an Anarchism of hope and construction. The state will always win on battlefields of its own choosing - confrontation with the marginalised in the streets - but it cannot and will not stand against a vibrant alternative to its destruction of society.

It's important to see any meaning we attach to the word class is socially constructed rather than a given. It's fairly obvious that a lot of white collar workers differ little in their lack of control of the workplace, their conditions of work or their wages from manual workers.

This doesn't mean that a bank clerk is the same as a miner - they may have completely different experiences of life. Of course they don't have the respect that miners do in the labour movement - but maybe if they held their boss hostage as bank clerks have done during disputes in France they might start to gain it.

It is also true that there is a middle class, who by their function have either a managerial or ideological role in the reproduction of capital. Members of this class may find themselves in conflict with the system if their professional status is threatened. Whilst we should always be wary of attempts to defend privilege, we should make common cause where we have common interests.

The creation of class identity is a continuous activity which competes with other self definitions. Vastly more workers have lived and died for the cause of nationalism in the twentieth century than have for any sort of socialism.

It is also about the creation of alliances for instance between bank clerks and miners or workers of different countries that can change things towards a society without capital and classes. If 'class' is going to mean anything progressive then ideas, including the broad ideas of 'anarchism', are going to have to be fought for amongst working people.

References: (1) Stephen Edgell 'Class' (1993); (2) Eric Hopkins 'The rise and decline of the English working classes' (1991).